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gigas), *tucunaré* (*Cichla* sp.), *cachorra* (*Eynedon hydrocyon*, Cast.), or *aruçú* (*Leporinus* sp.). These last two are forbidden because they eat leaves. The same prohibition holds for the honey of the wild bee, *jandaíra*, and for *muxiua*, the edible larvae of Coleoptera. 243 784

The planter of maize must not touch any fish stupefacient (*timbó*) or blood, or any object the color of blood; if he should touch urucú or *genipapo*, the maize would turn red or black. One day, an Indian who had planted maize brought me a fish, a tucunaré. Later, the leaves of the maize he had planted turned yellow. To undo the evil effects of the broken taboo he had to wash his hands and arms with *envira de matamatá*, because they had touched the fish, and had to bind his arms and legs with strips of the same liana.

If a pregnant woman plants maize, the plant also becomes "enceinte," and it will produce twin ears. [943]

Contrary to the statements of Tessmann's informants,[1] these Tukuna cultivate the peanut (manduví) just as much as the sweet potato; of the latter they raise two special types, one for the brewing of beer (*chicha*), one as a component of curare. The cultivation of the first type is post-Columbian, according to some of my informants, but the second is undoubtedly aboriginal. 244

They also say that a stunted type of sugar cane was "already in Deer's vatu'." The cane is little cultivated. To extract the juice it is crushed first with a club and then twisted, in the way Tessmann has described. 249

The banana, today of considerable economic importance, is post-Columbian, but its culture dates back several centuries. The most common varieties are poi' (large), iru' (small), and the nyëëta'rë poi' or guariba monkey banana, so called because of its red color. 245

Even today the Tukuna do not plant either kidney beans or broad beans. The malagueta pepper is of recent introduction; formerly only one type of pepper was known—a small, round, yellow pepper called mü'nëru ("grasshopper's head"; më'ë, generic name of peppers). 244

Four other plants with edible roots are cultivated in the clearings: *e'ru* (*ariá*; *Maranta lutea* Jacq.), also cultivated by the Neobrazilians and formerly extensively planted; maikura'ki (*maikúra*, sweet) or dya'matịna (l.g.?), the tubercles of which have a sweet taste; nakị-čane ("penis of tapir"), said to be cultivated by the Kokáma also; and a:'tatị, which is occasionally planted by the Neobrazilians of the region.[2]

Cotton (tẹ) was formerly planted more widely than today, but now one finds only a few isolated stands in the clearings, and many Indians no longer plant any at all. Cotton fell into disuse after purchased cloth began to be used for the feminine apron, *tanga*, which was originally the main product of Tukuna weavers. Other articles once made of cotton are now made of tucum fibers, such as bands for arm and leg and the sling (*tipoia*) for carrying children. 248 [439]

In 1941 I met with considerable difficulty in acquiring two spindles (tẹ-či'vanẹ[2]) for the ethnographic collection at Belém do Pará. The shaft is topped by a small knob; the whorl, of turtle shell (*tracajá*, turtle; *Podocnemis* sp.), or of wood, is placed on the shaft from above. 286 [321]

[1] Tessmann, p. 560.
[2] Only *ariá* is identified.—Trans.

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leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*maniva*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction. 273 [415] [554]

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product. [462] [843]

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server. 576 273

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container. 273 [751]

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dëdne-č!'! from cane (dë'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ui'-č!'!, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *cazaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation. 273 177 648

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither 123

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As Tessmann has already observed, there are no transversal flutes or clarinets of the type known as *torá*. A signal horn made of a simple piece of thick bamboo, with a lateral opening, closed on one side and open on the other, is invariably carried in the canoe for signaling the arrival of people and for calling them.

Panpipes commonly consist of eight tubes of bamboo (the longest being 15 cm.), joined by two pairs of rattan lashings (fig. 7, *b*). Panpipes are not played in pairs. The Tukuna name for them is čë'ku or dure'tu (Loreto). Loreto is the name of a sub-Andean department of Peru, pronounced in the Tukuna manner "dure'tu" which makes one suppose that the instrument has come from that region.

There is a kind of ocarina (pu|'čane) made from the seed of the *umarí* (*Poraqueiba* sp.), and a clay whistle in the shape of a frog (və:'tavë, a name which imitates the frog's croak). Tessmann erroneously calls it *tó'ke*,[1] which is actually the name of a large megaphone (tɔ'/k|).

The Tukuna learned from the Neobrazilians not only how to play the violin but also how to make it, and on the Rio Jacurapá there was an Indian whose violins were sought after by civilized persons—until the authorities of São Paulo de Olivença ordered his arrest for tax evasion (see p. 138). In spite of the attraction this instrument has for the Tukuna, they produce very little music from it, never playing their tribal melodies but only those which they learn from festivities of Neobrazilians in the region, who, for their part, are far from possessing the musical talent of the northeastern Brazilians.

Pottery

One finds evidence in the kitchen that the Tukuna still produce pottery. This art is principally practiced by women, but not exclusively so, for many men also perform this task to perfection, whereas many women never devote themselves to it.

In all the igarapés inhabited by the Tukúna, a plastic potters' clay of good quality is found more or less frequently; it almost always occurs in the sloughs at the foot of the high bluffs along the river. This raw material is accorded a certain respect, since its patron is an aquatic monster, dyë'vaë, which at times presents itself in the form of the western rainbow.

The clay is said to become useless if a pregnant woman touches or even approaches it: it will not bind, and the jars, on drying, will shatter into pieces. It is considered very dangerous for a woman in this condition to go to the bank to fetch clay, as illustrated by the following legend.[2]

Once, a group of women went to a bank to collect clay for pottery. A woman big with child insisted on accompanying them in spite of the others counseling her not to. The others had already dug out the clay that they needed and had piled it on the bank, where they were still standing when the pregnant woman, seeing nothing suspicious, went down to dig clay, too. She squatted down in the middle of the pit, which was half-filled with water, and took out clay with both hands. Suddenly, dyë'vaë, down at the bottom, allowed a muffled roar to be heard. The women on the bank heard it and cried out: "The owner of the clay is angry! Come up quickly!"

"What is the matter!" replied the pregnant one. "I heard nothing." And she continued to dig. She had just taken out a good quantity of clay when a muffled thunderclap was heard.

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

[2] Cf. the legend of tau/čipë, p. 120.

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VIII. LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy

After intercourse, conception depends on the will of the goddess ta-ë': it is she who gives the fetus its body and soul. When, overburdened with tasks, ta-ë' grows careless, the child is born with defects in mind or body. 842 [776]

We have already noted (pp. 22 and 46) the effects of a pregnant woman's intrusion in a clay pit or at maize planting, but on the whole there are few restrictions for her. She eats peppers lest the fetus become too fat, which would complicate birth; she eats the tripes of the alligator (jacaré-tinga) so that the child shall be born with a clear skin; and drinking the water of the *cipó barí* during pregnancy produces the same effect, as does staring at persons of white skin. Whoever eats double bananas will have only daughters. A real diet during pregnancy appears never to have been prescribed. If a girl is bitten by a type of ant called kaë'na, she will subsequently have children of a dark complexion. 843 [825]

Voluntary abortion.—A woman sometimes produces abortion in order to avoid the shame of having a "disqualified" child, i.e., one that belongs to no clan because its father is a Neobrazilian. Thus, an Indian girl named Neca, of the Rio Jacurapá, finding herself pregnant by a Neobrazilian, confessed her condition to her mother; both then concealed the affair from the girl's father, whom they feared, because he was a somewhat violent man. When Neca could no longer hide her pregnancy, the mother took her into the garden patch, where she succeeded in aborting the child by treading on the girl's belly. 847

According to legend, after an abortion, the cadaver of the fetus goes to ta-ë', who cooks it in a pot until it disintegrates. When the pan becomes full, the goddess keeps it until the death of the sinner, and thus addresses the soul when it arrives: "Thou hast slain the child I gave thee; now eat of thy property!" The sinful mother must eat the stew to the last morsel, however much she may beg and wail that she can eat no more. 847 775

Twins.—Twins (ta tarë'/pį; tarë, two) are not overly welcome since they increase the mother's work, but they are not killed. I myself knew a married couple in Igarapé de São Jeronymo who had twins; the reason was given me by an Indian, who asserted that the mother, while yet a child, had eaten double bananas. Others simply say that twins are due only to the will of ta-ë'. 845

Birth

When parturition is near, the husband erects a temporary platform close to the ground and hidden in a thicket some thirty paces behind the house. As soon as the pains begin, the woman is conducted there, where her hammock and mosquito bar are rigged up, and a piece of tururí bark cloth is spread over the platform. Her mother, aunt, or eldest sister attends her, the husband remaining in the house. If there are difficulties, a medicine man is sent for; smoking a tauary cigarette, he makes gestures with his hands as if he were opening some invisible object from below. 844 [755]

Blows on the back with the mouth of a manioc press are also recommended in difficult labor. The woman squats on her heels on the platform, with her arms